FEBRUARY, 1956

New South

EXPERIENCES OF AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL

Howard Grimes

MADISON AND INTERPOSITION

HOXIE BOARD WINS ROUND

DR. WILL W. ALEXANDER

CONTENTS

EXPERIENCES OF AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL
by Howard Grimes 1

MADISON AND INTERPOSITION 6

HOXIE BOARD WINS ROUND 9

IN MEMORY OF DR. WILL W. ALEXANDER
by Albert Dent and Charles Johnson 10

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC 11

. . . UNQUOTE 13

New South

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New South NOTES

It is with regret that NEW SOUTH records the death of Dr. Will W. Alexander, long-time leader in helping the South and Southerners to become an important part of the national mainstream. In this issue, the Southern Regional Council, Dr. Albert Dent, and Dr. Charles Johnson pay tribute to the greatness of Dr. Alexander.

This issue also brings an article on the successful results of integration at the Perkins School of Theology, Dallas, Texas. Dr. Howard Grimes tells how the school officials, through careful planning and democratic processes, opened their school to all persons qualified to enter.

Pro-segregationists look to James Madison and Thomas Jefferson for support of their latest move in trying to circumvent the supreme law of the land. The cries of "interposition" and "nullification" suddenly have become quite prominent in the South. In this issue, NEW SOUTH reprints an article from the Washington Post and Times Herald which shows how some Southern leaders are twisting history for their purposes. Far from approving "nullification," Madison spent the last six years of his life combating such a doctrine, and he called the South Carolina nullification attempt "preposterous and anarchical pretension."

NEW SOUTH also presents the important aspects of the federal court ruling in the Hoxie, Arkansas, dispute between the pro-segregationists and the local school board. This report is reprinted from the newsletter of the Arkansas affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

By HOWARD GRIMES

Experiences of an Integrated School

We sat on the hard seats at Ownby Stadium as the shadows began to lengthen across the playing field. The band had already commenced to play the graduation processional, and the officiating dignitaries marched slowly to the platform. This was graduation time for Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas. Always a special time both for those who have completed their studies and for their parents, friends, and teachers, this particular ceremony was something special. It was bringing to a climax the process begun almost three years previously for John W. Elliott, James A. Hawkins, James V. Lyles, Negail R. Riley, and Cecil Williams. In the fall of 1952 these five persons had enrolled in Perkins School of Theology, one of the colleges of Southern Methodist University.

Thus it was not unusual that the family of one of these students was seated directly behind us — the wife, whom I had met; a beaming father and mother; a proud younger brother. That is, there was nothing unusual about this except for the color of their skin. For John Elliott, James Hawkins, James Lyles, Negail Riley, and Cecil Williams were the first five Negro students to be graduated from Perkins School of Theology. Since the School is an integral part of the University, this meant that the degrees would be conferred as part of the regular ceremonies of Southern Methodist University.

As I sat expectantly, contemplating what was about to happen, I could not help reviewing the steps that had gone into producing the event about to transpire. I had come to Perkins to teach in the summer of 1949. At that time the rather unusual policy existed which made it possible for Negro students to attend classes but not to receive credit. This meant that occasionally we had a Negro student sitting in class along with the white students, though we could not give a grade to the Negro student even if he chose to do the work in the course. This, incidently, proved to be a helpful step in the direction of full admission to the Negro students.

Not long after I began teaching, an interesting innovation to this policy occurred, somewhat surreptitiously and not really providing a step forward. It

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was more of an interesting excursion as a side trip to the ultimate goal. The Negro representative of the American Bible Society in Dallas, whose name was Thompson, lacked one quarter of work at Oberlin Theological Seminary. Could we allow him to sit in classes, do the required work, and receive credit for this work from Oberlin? Yes, we thought we could arrange this, and so I found myself offering the work to Mr. Thompson and sending his grades to Oberlin Seminary at the end of the quarter, his degree subsequently being conferred by that school.

Not long after this, in November, 1950, the matter of admitting Negro students to full work in the Seminary was presented to the Board of Trustees of Southern Methodist University. After some discussion, and not much opposition, it was agreed that the administration of the University be empowered to proceed with the admission of Negro students when such qualified students presented themselves. To be sure not all members of the Board acted enthusiastically. Some apparently voted for the measure since they felt it was the only possible course, irrespective of their own personal feelings.

First Students

Thus the first students admitted under the policy began work in January, 1951. Unfortunately they proved to have inadequate academic preparation, and dropped out of school after a brief period. Thus it was in September, 1952, that the first students to pursue the full B. D. course were enrolled. At this time the five students previously named were admitted not only to class work but also to one of the men's dormitories belonging to the School of Theology. Further, in the process of making room assignments during the year, requests for one or more of the Negro students as roommates meant that several of them roomed with white students.

Strategy

All of us, and especially Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, Dean of Perkins School of Theology, knew that the strategy followed of integrating the Negro students into an otherwise all-white campus was extremely important. We knew how easy it would be to practice segregation without meaning to do so. On the other hand, we knew that to proceed too rapidly might mean that the experiment would fail. We were sure that there would be no problem with respect to the School of Theology itself, but since the School is a part of the total campus and our students are regular students of the University and participate in various campus activities, we could not expect the Negro students to remain isolated from the remainder of the campus.

From the beginning, it was the policy of Dean Cuninggim to talk over all matters pertaining to participation in campus affairs with the group, allowing the students themselves to make their own decisions. As a result of such conferences, for example, it was decided that they would participate in intramural sports, but that they would not use the campus swimming pool. The obvious decision was made that they would participate in School of Theology social functions, but it was deemed best for them not to take part in most all-University functions. On one occasion when a group of students, partly from other schools of the University, rather insisted that they

attend an all-University dance, the group voluntarily refrained from doing so, feeling that it might cause more trouble than it would be worth.

Incidents

All seemed to be going well until late spring. By this time word had got around that not only had Negro students been admitted to classes (which was never seriously questioned) but also that they were living in the dormitory and using the same bathroom facilities as the white students. Strangely enough even the use of common eating facilities did not receive the criticism leveled at common housing, though the former was partly responsible for word getting around as to what was happening. Well-meaning students, not of the School of Theology, perhaps a bit proud of their new sophistication, did not help the situation. For instance, there is the case of the girl who sat at dinner one evening with one of the Negro students, and in her sophomoric enthusiasm wrote to her mother about the incident: "Dear Mama, The most wonderful thing happened to me tonight . . ." But mamma failed to share daughter's enthusiasm, and so did most of the other people in the small Southern town in which mamma lived.

These and various other incidents, each one dealt with as carefully as it could be by either School of Theology or University officials, brought about an increasing amount of concern on the part of friends of the University as to what was happening at the School of Theology. This opposition was brought to focus by written protests of one kind or another, and for a time it was not clear as to what the outcome would be. One faculty appointment was held up since the appointee was unwilling to accept a position if the policy was measurably changed. There was much soul-searching by us already on the faculty: under what circumstances could we stay on, and under what would we resign in protest?

Thanks to friends of the University in high places in The Methodist Church, the matter was settled at the next meeting of the Board of Trustees. The Board re-affirmed its position. The Negro students, apprised of some of the major criticisms, made some changes in their action, but according to the same procedures previously followed in arriving at policy decision, namely, full participation in the discussion by the students themselves.

Since then there have been problems, but no really serious ones. The Admissions Committee has tried to be as selective in admitting Negro students as in admitting white students, but in one or two instances they have practiced "segregation in reverse": namely, they have favored the Negro student in cases of doubt, a fact which caused at least one Negro student to fail out of Seminary.

Temptation

Indeed, perhaps the greatest temptation, of students in particular, is to practice this kind of favoritism, but even this has changed during the last two years. During the first year of the residence of the five students, one of them was elected to a student office. During the third year, one ran for office and was defeated. This appears to be a step forward — now the Negro student can stand on his own feet, can be elected to an office or defeated, can be himself in competition with other students irrespective of color.

All of this I remembered as I sat waiting for the conferring of degrees to begin. And I remembered humorous incidents, also: like the time two of the Negro students did a comedy routine made up in white face. This somehow symbolized for some of us the really absurd kinds of discrimination we practice often without thinking of their meaning. Why doesn't "white face comedy" make as much sense as "black face comedy"? Or the time when Cecil Williams, who sang well and knew he did, sang a solo and the crowd deliberately withheld applause as a joke. Did he feel that he was being discriminated against? I am sure he did not, for he knew he had been accepted as a full member of the Seminary community.

The five students, and others who have joined them during this period, have helped us immensely, by their being themselves. Most of them were not exceptional persons, either intellectually or otherwise. They used some of the same tricks that other students use to make better grades. They had likeable qualities as well as those which made them difficult to like at times. In other words they were human beings who could, in an atmosphere of acceptance, *act like human beings.*

Policy

The candidates for degrees were now receiving the rewards of their labors. The name of John W. Elliott was called. What did the other thousands gathered in Ownby Stadium that June afternoon think, as a dark-skinned American Christian, the first Negro student to receive a degree from Southern Methodist University, walked across the stage? I don't know, but I do know that there was a lump in my throat and a tear in my eye, in gratitude for what had come to pass. Perhaps a bit of pride entered in, but if it did it was followed soon by repentance, and with the knowledge that there is yet much to do. Since that time, in fact, another step has been taken, with the Board agreeing to a policy which allows the administration to decide when Negro students may be admitted to the graduate degree program.

Results

What have we learned at Perkins as a result of this experience? For one thing, we know that *desegregation is much easier than integration.* It can probably be said that no great opposition was encountered in the process of desegregating classes at Perkins School of Theology. Enough of a conscience has been developed within the Church during recent decades that the continuing of segregated classes in a school for the training of clergymen is hardly defensible. Where the opposition arose, then, was at the points where the School began to integrate the Negro students into the full life of the Perkins community, housing being the prime example. This points to the fact that desegregation in the public schools may take place without integration occurring. Desegregation may be done by fiat; integration is a moral and thus a personal matter. Desegregation is a step toward integration, but must not be thought of as the ultimate end. The process of education must continue after desegregation; in fact, it can, in a sense, only begin when that has occurred.

Second, *it is easy for concerned whites to practice segregation in reverse.* Instances have been given of

this in the Perkins experience. Perhaps it is inevitable that this should happen, and thus in the process of integration both the white and the Negro must be aware of the danger. The Negro in particular must not expect favoritism; the white must be sensitive to fair behavior lest he practice favoritism without intending to do so. It is difficult to erase consciousness of race out of minds that have been trained in it. Yet enough has happened in the Perkins experience to indicate that this can happen. This does not mean, as many fear, that consciousness of color is gone and thus will lead to intermarriage. Rather it means that, conscious of differences, we are able to treat the person who is different with the same respect as we do those who are more like us in a matter such as skin color.

Third, *the method employed, called by Dean Cuninggim the "method of cautious advance," seems to be the one most suited for the Southern community.* Neither of the two key words must be over-emphasized, however; there must be *advance*, even though it *is* with *caution*. It would have been easy when opposition developed either for the School to have retreated, on the one hand, or, on the other, to have thrown caution to the winds and called for an open show-down. Fortunately, neither of these happened, and the method of cautious advance was still employed. In this way the gains of the past were consolidated, and actual progress was made.

Democracy

Fourth, *the method of democratic decision in matters of policy seems wise.* To have thrown open all school facilities immediately might have precipitated a crisis; yet for the administration to have decided what should be opened to Negro students and what should not, would have failed to give full student status to them. To be sure the administration always felt free to *advise*, but not to hand down policy decisions by fiat.

Benefits

Fifth, and by no means the least in importance, we have learned that *the benefits of integration are not toward the Negro alone but come to us of lighter skin also.* Life of the Perkins community has been measurably enriched by the presence of the Negro students: in such small ways as the abilities and talents of the students make possible, but also in the larger perspective of the experience of brotherhood which it has provided for us all. To be sure, we have been guilty of pride in our own big-heartedness: it is easy to confuse "feeling good about being brotherly" with the practice of real Christian fellowship. But I believe that the experience of fellowship has reached deeper than the superficial level of "good feeling." I cannot help feeling that the presence of the Negro students, along with students from other nations, has helped in the uplifting of the religious tone of the School. As new students come into the community this has a healing effect on many. One wonders, as a conclusion drawn from this, if the breaking down of the walls of segregation in the Christian Church would not create within the Church a religious revival today which it has not had in decades.

When will the Church learn that "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus"? (Galatians 3:38)

Madison and Interposition

By IRVING BRYANT

From the *Washington Post and Times Herald*

In Virginia and several states of the Deep South, defenders of racial segregation are reviving what they call the ancient right of interposition. This they define as the right of one or more states to "interpose" against a "deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise" of powers not granted by the Constitution, and to halt the execution of them within their own boundaries until such powers are placed in the Constitution by amendment.

In the matter at issue, the Supreme Court regards the amendment as already adopted — the Fourteenth.

To support their position, the interpositionists cite the famous Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, written respectively by Madison and Jefferson in which the legislatures called on the other states to "interpose" against the Alien and Sedition Acts of that year. Under this precedent, the 1956 legislatures of Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina and Georgia are being urged to a supposedly lawful resistance to the Supreme Court's school decisions.

At Richmond the resolutions were held back and toned down to exclude the threat of a noncompliance. In Alabama, however, the lower House adopted the resolves as received from Virginia. It is uncertain which version will receive final approval at Richmond.

Actually, interposition of the sort now proposed is pure and simple nullification, similar to that initiated by South Carolina in 1832. In strategy, the authors are doing just what Calhoun and Hayne did a century and a quarter ago. Ignoring the official explanation of the 1793 resolves made by the Virginia General Assembly in 1800, they are endeavoring to warp those resolves into a justification of defiance of Federal authority.

They are even trying, as the early nullifiers did, to present James Madison as a principal witness for their course.

Apparently it is not known in Richmond today that Madison spent the last half dozen years of his life combating the doctrines of Calhoun and Hayne — furnishing outlines for congressional speeches and newspaper articles, writing letters to public men and openly guiding public opinion in the columns of the North American Review. He was the brain behind the brawn in President Jackson's decision to resist nullification with military force.

Nor do the present-day interpositionists seem to know that Madison as President faced their pattern of resistance and disposed of it with speed and vigor. In 1809 Gov. Snyder of Pennsylvania openly relying on the Virginia Resolutions of 1798, ordered the state militia to prevent the United States

marshal from enforcing the Supreme Court's decree in the renowned Olmstead Case. The Philadelphia True American chronicled the exchange of remarks when the marshal faced Gen. Bright and the pointing bayonets (one touching his breast) of a squad of militiamen.

"In the name and by the authority of the United States," said the marshal addressing the soldiers, "I command you to lay down your arms, and permit me to proceed."

"In the name and by the authority of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, I command you to resist him," replied Gen. Bright, in which he was obeyed.

President Madison wrote to Gov. Snyder that he was expressly enjoined by statute, to carry into effect any such decree where opposition may be made of it." Gen. Bright was arrested, tried in Federal court and sent to prison. Madison pardoned him after some weeks on the plea of Pennsylvanians that he was a dull-witted man who didn't know enough to disobey the Governor.

Supreme Law

Facing the nullifiers of 1809, the 1830s and 1956 is Article VI, Section 2 of the Constitution, which says: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

This, say the advocates of interposition, does not prevent individual states from overruling Supreme Court decisions which they regard as unwarranted by the Constitution. That raises the basic question: Who is going to expound the Constitution and execute its powers?

Madison dealt with that very point in 1831, writing to Nicholas P. Trist, President Jackson's private secretary:

"A supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the Union, without supremacy in the exposition and execution of them, would be as much a mockery as a scabbard put into the hand of a soldier without a sword in it."

The Virginia Resolutions called on other states to join in asking Congress to submit a constitutional amendment forbidding racial segregation. This amendment, its proposers believe, would be rejected by at least 13 states — enough to block it even though 35 approved. But until it should be ratified —

"The General Assembly of Virginia declares the decisions and orders of the Supreme Court of the United States relating to separation of the races in its public institutions are, as a matter of right, null, void and of no effect; and the General Assembly declares to all men that as a matter of right, this state is not bound to abide thereby."

This was the doctrine and strategy set forth by South Carolina in the 1830s, the only difference being that in the smaller Union then existing, seven states would have been able to block the will of 17. Of that proposition Madison wrote to Trist:

Preposterous

"For this preposterous and anarchical pretension there is not a shadow of countenance in the Constitution and well that there is not; for it is certain that with such a deadly poison in it, no Constitution could be sure of lasting a year."

The assertion in the resolves as

drafted at Richmond, that a state has a right to disregard Supreme Court decisions, has no counterpart in the Virginia Resolutions of 1798. It is a composite of some words deleted from those resolutions before passage, and of an opinion by Jefferson so altered as to change its meaning.

Madison, shortly after retiring from Congress, drafted the Virginia Resolutions at Montpelier. In them he termed the Alien and Sedition Acts "unconstitutional" and called on the other states to interpose to maintain their rights. After the draft left his hands, the wording was enlarged to "unconstitutional, null, void and of no effect."

During the debate, Madison visited Richmond and the added words were unanimously stricken out. They were eliminated, "lest they should be misconstrued into a nullifying import instead of a mere declaration of opinion."

The words "null, void, and of no effect" had been in fact suggested by Jefferson, who read Madison's draft as it was being carried to Richmond by Wilson Cary Nicholas. What Jefferson had in mind was set forth in a later affirmation of his views:

"But when powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification is the rightful remedy, that every state has a natural right in cases not within the compact (casus non foederis) to nullify."

Natural Right

When these words were quoted after Jefferson's death to support nullifications, Madison pointed out that Jefferson was talking of a "natural" right — the right of revolution. When the drafters of the 1956 interposition resolves came to this part of their subject, they dropped the word "natural" from Jefferson's proposition and thus converted a valid right of revolution into a spurious constitutional right.

Madison

In doing so, they emulated the conduct which led Madison to remark, after citing various Jeffersonian indorsements of national supremacy:

"It is remarkable how closely the nullifiers who made the name of Mr. Jefferson the pedestal for their colossal heresy, shut their eyes and lips whenever his authority is ever so clearly and emphatically against them."

To complete the historical survey, it need only be added that in 1833-4, the Virginia General Assembly by almost unanimous vote adopted a resolution declaring "that the resolutions of 1798-9 gave no support to the nullifying doctrine of South Carolina." Those were not the words of the resolution, but they are Madison's summary of them.

The action inspired him to a forecast which history has borne out only in the ultimate results, not in the inception or intermediate course, of disputes between the whole and the parts of the Nation:

"The final appeal in such cases must be to the authority of the whole, not to that of the parts separately and independently . . . It was this view of it which dictated the clause declaring that the Constitution and laws of the United States should be the supreme law of the land . . . And it may be confidently foretold that . . . it is the view which will be permanently taken of it, with a surprise hereafter that any other could ever have been contended for."

Hoxie Board Wins Round

From the Newsletter of the

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

This is a report concerning the court victory of the Hoxie, Arkansas, School Board, which sought relief from intimidation by pro-segregationists after Hoxie's public schools had been successfully integrated.

On January 9, at Jonesboro, Arkansas, Federal Judge Albert L. Reeves made permanent the temporary injunction against the segregationists at Hoxie. The following points in his 24 page decision have wide implications:

1. The injunction forbids the defendants "from attempting trespassing or picketing on property of the plaintiff School District; from attempting to obstruct attendance at the plaintiff school; from attempting to interfere with lawful administration of plaintiff School District; from intimidating, threatening or attempting to visit harm on the plaintiffs and to cause them to violate the U. S. Constitution and the laws of the United States in regard to their official duties."
2. The court pointed out that the evidence showed that the defendants were guilty of a conspiracy, and as such could actually have been held liable by civil suits or criminal prosecution under federal law.
3. In the matter of free speech the court held, "some intemperance of speech and act may be tolerated, and the right of peaceful assembly and petition for redress should be respected and protected. In this case, however, the . . . mass meetings were by inflammatory speeches dissolved into a spirit of revolt against the law, and acts were committed and words spoken that destroyed or thwarted one of the main objects of government, which is to insure domestic tranquility."
4. The court acknowledged that the School Board would have been subject to both civil and criminal liability under federal law if they had failed to desegregate the schools after the administrative obstacles had been removed. The board had officially decided that they had no such obstacles.
5. The court held that public officials have a civil right to perform their duties without undue obstruction. This is the first time on record that public officials have sought the aid of the courts for the protection of this civil right.
6. The court ruled that the Arkansas laws requiring segregation in public schools are invalid — they were nullified by the Supreme Court Decision.
7. Judge Reeves noted, in ruling that one of the defendants would not be included in the restraining order, that ". . . anyone who has notice of the injunction is restrained from violating its provisions."

In Memory of Dr. Will Alexander

Dr. Will W. Alexander, who died January 13, 1956, at his farm near Chapel Hill, North Carolina, was a founder of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and served as its executive director from its inception in 1919. Dr. Alexander became a board member and a lifelong friend of the Southern Regional Council when it succeeded the Commission in 1944.

By ALBERT DENT

It is with deep sorrow that I attempt to put into words a tribute of our affection for Dr. Will Alexander whom we so deeply love and respect. I cherish this sorrowful privilege because this was Dr. Alexander's request. I am humbly grateful to know that he wanted me here today.

Sorrow is always personal but it becomes general when a man's life reveals such greatness as that of our departed friend. In Dr. Alexander there was a unique mixture of greatness and simplicity. Through his simplicity and humility there was a greatness that could always be understood and which always flowed freely in affectionate concern for others. With him there was no place for the false distinction which separates man from his fellow man. Instead, there was in his heart a place for the man of every color, each creed and all levels of economic and cultural status. He was at ease with the great and he always had a word of friendly concern for the lowliest.

Dr. Alexander was the pioneering spirit in the first south-wide movement to promote improved community living through inter-racial co-operation. He, more than anyone in our time, led the people of good will in the South to know that white and colored people through working together would develop an understanding of the necessity for removing inequities and injustices. He was patient — but always intelligently aggressive in promoting his ideals. He was rebuked and his life threatened — but he was always courageous. I never knew him to compromise principle with expediency.

He had faith in the fundamental goodness of his fellow man; and he lived to see this faith justified many, many times through his own efforts to bring about better understanding between men. His careful planning and diligent work as an engineer of plans and procedures for improved human relations has made the South a better place for all men to live. His keen analysis of problems in human relations and his wise approaches to their solution have during the last two decades become patterns of action not only in the South but in all regions of our country.

Of great concern to Dr. Alexander was the poor economic plight of millions of tenant farmers. And one of his greatest contributions to American life was his leadership of our Federal Government in removing the gross inequities which had so long been inherent in the tenancy system. Millions of farmers of all races and throughout

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the country are today more secure and live fuller lives because of Dr. Alexander's concern and activity in their behalf.

> We, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, wish to acknowledge the incalculable debt which we, the South, and the Nation owe to the late Dr. Will W. Alexander. It was largely through his leadership that Negro and white Southerners first joined together in equal dignity to seek the way to a more democratic society. The growing number of Americans devoted to the achievement of this aim stand as a living memorial to his unfaltering faith in his fellowmen. Here was a man who translated into skilled actions the thoughts of a keen mind and the love of a great heart. We shall gravely miss his wise counsel but we rededicate ourselves to furthering the task which was his lifework.

Dr. Alexander had great faith in what intelligent leadership, at all levels, could do to improve community living. This included government and law enforcement officials, teachers and preachers, doctors and lawyers, industrialists, laborers and journalists. He made distinct contributions to the development of leadership in each of these fields through personal contact. But also through the most unusual opportunities which he had through philanthropic foundations to seek out and recommend young men of ability for study scholarships designed to broaden their perspective.

Time is likely to prove that Dr. Alexander's most far reaching contribution was his keen sense for finding young men of ability and encouraging them to press on to greater usefulness.

Occasionally when Dr. Alexander and I parted after a visit, instead of saying the usual good-bye, he would say — "Blessings!" Not "Blessings on You" or "God Bless You" as the expressions usually go. Just "Blessings!" He sometimes closed letters to me with the word "Blessings!" It impresses upon me that his life is a blessing to you and to me; to many thousands who had the good fortune to know him but who cannot be here today and to many more thousands whose lives he blessed and who though they never had the privilege of knowing him will still live under the influence of his enduring works.

Will Alexander's life was a great blessing to this country.

By CHARLES JOHNSON

Dr. Will W. Alexander's name stands firm and constant as a great personality of the South, who lived and worked to achieve a climate of race relations honestly consistent with our fundamental democratic and Christian tenets. He loved and had a profound faith in the future of the South as an affirmative part of the nation. He was himself a part of the growth of the region, and he understood fully its problems, both human and physical.

It was not enough to him, nor ever could be, that the region improved its economics and the number of its school buildings. Although much of this material improvement actually came to the South through his aid as Director of the Farm Security Administration, and earlier as an officer of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, he had a deeper and larger concern. The inescapable element for the

new South in his conviction, without which no amount of material progress would avail very much, was a pattern of human relationships that could permit the people, in spiritual uprightness and good moral conscience, to live with themselves. It was to this cause that he devoted himself and the work of his active years.

He has been referred to as an "authority on race relations." This is a well meaning reference, but it sadly misses the point. Dr. Alexander himself would regard this as being as under-comprehending as a reference to Gandhi as an authority on peace or love. He never set out to be a student of race relations; he was an example of a way of life and, in the Biblical sense, a prophet. What he had of knowledge about people, he gained through his experience of living with people.

An assessment of his contribution will include hundreds of affirmative southern leaders reached by him in their early years, who are now remaking the mind of the South. It will include many new and wholesome impulses generated in education, in agricultural and industrial development, now taken for granted. It will include recognition of perhaps the greatest of all of his contributions — the confidence of the nation which he built up, in the ultimate triumph of goodness and fair play and justice in the South, in the midst of the terrible social confusions of his time.

It is a tribute to his personality and to his memory that, throughout the years of his life, his unaffected humility of spirit, honesty of heart and sureness of vision were respected even by those who did not share his philosophy. His monument will be the image now appearing more and more clearly, in the new perspective of the southern region and the nation.

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

President Robert M. Hutchins of the Fund for the Republic has announced grants totalling $79,670 to six organizations for activities designed to "further the principles of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights."

The largest of the grants is $25,000 to the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church to "finance studies on the challenge of communism to Christianity."

A grant of $20,000 has been made to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., for a study of methods of representation of criminal defendants.

The Department of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (Northern Presbyterians) and the Division of Christian Relations of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern Presbyterians) each received a grant of $15,000 for educational work in racial and cultural relations. Other organizations already conducting Fund-financed programs in this field are the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, the Southern Regional Council, the Methodist Church, and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

A Fund grant of $3,000 has gone to the National Student Association to support the Association-sponsored Academic Freedom Week.

Columbia University received a grant of $1,670 to assist the Columbia Law Review in a study of problems involved in dealing with former prisoners of war accused of acts prejudicial to the interests of the United States.

. . . Unquote

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

"The fate of our public school system is of profound significance. Almost from the beginning of our national history our public schools have been honored as a great and indispensable support of our democratic way of life. Along with our homes and churches, they have inspired our youths to be good citizens and useful individuals. If America is to have long life and fulfill its God-given destiny, our public schools are essential. Surely we are all agreed that they must be sustained in every possible way and their efficiency increased to the highest degree."—Methodist Bishop Arthur J. Moore and Dr. Louie D. Newton, pastor of the Druid Hills Baptist Church, Atlanta.

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We, who have the responsibility of teaching the young respect for government and the duly constituted processes of law and order, are seriously concerned because the whole import of this proposed Constitutional change (in Virginia) seems to be based on violating, evading and disregarding the very law and order and duly constituted processes of law and order which our governmental officials have taken oath to uphold, and which must ever be the shining example to our young people — the future citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia."—The executive committee of the Virginia Teachers' Association.

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"The Catholic Church has always and will always condemn racism in all its varied shapes and forms, because it is utterly opposed to the Christian way of life; and the church sympathizes wholeheartedly with the Negro people of Georgia and elsewhere in their just aspirations to obtain those rights and that recognition to which they have every claim and title."—The Most Rev. Francis E. Hyland, auxiliary bishop of the Catholic Diocese Savannah-Atlanta.

"So long as I consider our present course (of solving the segregation problem) the correct one morally and legally, we shall continue it. We have had no trouble here. . . . The Supreme Court decision and the laws of our state place the responsibility for any further decision or action at the local and not the state level. I do not intend to interfere with the rights of local authorities. They are closer to the situation and to the people. One county may follow one course of action, and another an entirely different course due to different circumstances."—Governor Frank Clement of Tennessee.

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"While recognizing the many and intricate problems involved in the desegregation of our public schools and the need for caution, for patience and forbearance, this church in the diocese of Atlanta, which in the 49 years of its existence has never recognized segregation in its official diocesan life still stands on the proposition passed unanimously last year that segregation, on the sole basis of race, is inconsistent with the principles of Christian religion."—The Rt. Rev. Randolph R. Claiborne of the Atlanta Diocese of the Episcopal Church.

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"The sane and orderly development of integrated education has been slowed . . . but it cannot be stopped; and a large and growing number of Virginians, along with modern-minded citizens everywhere in the South, afford hope that it will be quietly accepted in the not-too-distant future."—From an editorial in the *New York Times.*

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"We believe that democracy cannot tolerate any concept which provides for a dual society in which some persons are relegated to second-class citizenship." — The Norfolk, Virginia, Ministers' Association.